

PEACE NEWS

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2d.

"The Germans are perfectly natural"

— BRITISH OFFICER

The following passage from a letter from a British officer, who knew Germany before the war and is now in rural Germany, gives a valuable picture of the attitude of the Germans and of the British towards them, and contains an implicit criticism of the political and psychological jolly of "non-fraternisation":

THE Germans are a very baffling lot, and I find it very difficult to understand them. The really devastating characteristic is that they are perfectly natural. Don't believe what you read in the newspapers about their being subservient. They're extremely co-operative.

In a land where charwomen haven't been seen for years, if you tell the Burgomaster to send along 20 at 9 a.m. the next morning, 20 appear on the tick. Heaven knows where they come from or who they are. The woman who scrubs the landing outside my office is a doctor's wife.

But they aren't subservient, and they aren't arrogant or sullen either. They're exactly as they were before the war, neither more friendly nor less, neither more polite nor less polite, neither more nor less arrogant. It's all just as if the war had never been, or as if it had been forgotten overnight. It's unbelievable.

The Englishman is of course completely out of his element because he is in a false position. He rather feels he ought to be making life unpleasant for the German, but fundamentally he doesn't like doing so. So he vacillates between mildness and illogical fits of oppression. He's not quite sure whether to domineer when talking to Germans, or whether to be frigidly polite, so he does both in turns.

In spite of all the stuff that's been put out about non-fraternisation, he finds it quite impossible to justify his position when talking to an intelligent German—so he feels angry and sullen.

So the Englishman is completely ill at ease. But I feel he would have been very different if the positions had been reversed and the Germans were occupying England. I'm certain he wouldn't be just natural. And I'm sure the French and the Belgians and the rest of the occupied peoples weren't just natural. It's uncanny—you begin to wonder whether you just dreamt the war.

IN PERSPECTIVE

ON page four we record the impression of the increased "competence and confidence" of the PPU which Prof. Tom Finnegan took back with him to N. Ireland from the annual general meeting in London. The war has tended to make many of us over-conscious of the things we have not achieved, and the scene is probably viewed in truer perspective by one who is not standing quite so close to it. In any case, we must now concentrate on present and future opportunities instead of bewailing lost ones.

PN is already finding it increasingly irksome to be restricted to four pages most weeks. When an increase in our paper ration is possible we want to be able to take full advantage of it: the same applies to other opportunities for "launching out" which the future may hold.

But they will require what politicians and financiers call "adequate resources." Our name for it is the Peace News Fund. We should welcome a donation from anyone who feels a need to atone for things left undone in the past!

* Contributions since June 22: £6 5s. 10d. Total to date: £5,968 19s.

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THE BIG THREE AND THE PEACE

Britain as "odd man out"

NO-ONE appears to be very happy or sanguine about the Charter of the World Security Organisation which has emerged from San Francisco. There is not much danger that "popular idealism will line up behind it." The Wilsonian idealism of 1919 is no more. Whether San Francisco is better than nothing at all is a question on which many arguments on either side could be marshalled without producing conviction. Presumably the small nations immediately concerned think that it is better than nothing to have a parliament of the nations in which they can to some extent speak their minds.

Even if, as I sometimes think, San Francisco is essentially world-anarchy re-christened world-organisation, it is at least world-anarchy one degree more conscious of itself than it was before. We shall at least know when the Big Five are disagreeing. The red light will be more promptly visible than it was. After all, as The Listener (June 28) puts it, "The Charter does represent the highest degree of international co-operation of which the present distracted world is capable."

Pacifist policy

I cannot agree with those members of the PPU Public Action Committee who declared last week that "the rejection of the San Francisco plan is the precondition of radical reconstruction in world affairs," because I cannot accept the underlying assumption that pacifists must either accept or reject San Francisco. Pacifists, it seems to me, stand in no such relation to the practical issues of world-policy.

By all means let those who will go ahead trying to persuade the British people to take the lead in withdrawing from its government "the mandate, the power and the means to make war"; in other more familiar terms, converting them to unilateral disarmament. When that has happened the British nation will automatically drop out of its place in the San Francisco plan. It does not need to reject the San Francisco plan as a preliminary to its conversion.

If unilateral disarmament is the national policy adopted by pacifists it is, I think, important that it should really be unequivocal. It does not seem to me to be unequivocal to appeal to the believers in collective security to join in rejecting San Francisco, or to suggest that they can be friendly fellow-travellers with the believers in unilateral disarmament.

Test of unity

THE capacity of the Big Three for agreement faces at the outset one searching test: whether they can agree, not merely verbally, but in practice, on a common policy towards Germany. There are no signs of it as yet. The Daily Herald (June 27) reports that the Hamburg Trades Council (which had been revived) has been dissolved by the British authorities because "there was too much politics in the organisation, and politics cannot be allowed in Germany at present." In the Russian sector, on the other hand:

"The rule is that all proven anti-Fascist parties may pursue their activities unhampered, forming not only municipal bodies and trade unions, but actually political parties." (Daily Mail, June 29).

It may be that the western allies are keeping and the Russians are breaking a previous agreement; it may be that the agreement was so vague as to be capable of any interpretation, or that there was no agreement at all. It may also be that the news of what is happening in the Russian sector is too highly selective to be dependable. But, judging by the record, it is most likely that the Russians have a clear idea of what they intend to try to do, and will present the coming Great Power Conference with another accomplished fact.

No clear ideas

THE root of the trouble is not Russian clarity but British-

Observer's Commentary

American confusion. At the highest level Britain and USA do not know what they want Germany to be, or to become. Theoretically, perhaps, a democracy like themselves; but in practice they do not trust the German capacity for democracy. So they have fallen back on a policy which is a negation—an indefinable period of purely military government till something turns up.

What is most likely to turn up, in the political vacuum which their indecision has created, is a political and social pattern provided by Russia. If the western allies can give Germany no moral and political lead, Russia can and will. The western allies can hardly hope that the authoritarian substance of the Russian pattern will make it repulsive to the Germans. The evidence is that strong government appeals to rather than repels the Germans.

But British-American military government is not strong government; it merely pretends to be. There is no philosophy of strong government behind it. It is at present mainly incoherent administration by soldiers, who are not accustomed to

political responsibility themselves, and have been given no clear directives to follow.

The warrior-mind

IN a democracy the military mind is habitually subordinate to civil political directives, because the natural condition of democracy is peace. When a democracy is in the unnatural condition of war the military mind has an influence and latitude to which it is unaccustomed and for which it is not prepared.

The soldier or sailor with a deep sense of political responsibility is a rarity. Lord Wavell may be such a one. Perhaps Field Marshal Alexander is another. His action over Trieste suggests that he may be. But political irresponsibility is much more characteristic of the general or admiral of democracy at war: such as Admiral Halsey's recent *bon mot* about the Japanese:

"We are drowning and burning the bestial apes all over the Pacific; and it is just a much pleasure to burn them as drown them."

That is an extreme case. But the irresponsibility which it exaggerates is congenial to the warrior-mind when, under democracy, it has its crowded hour of glorious life. Military government is therefore always a perverse instrument for democracy to employ. When used as a substitute for a policy which does not exist, it is entirely specious—the means by which weakness masquerades as strength.

Bleak outlook

THE war has created the chaos that we knew it would. In dethroning German militarism and totalitarianism, it has enthroned other militarisms and totalitarianisms. And the present condition of affairs is such that it is hard not to believe that the seeds of World War III have not been well and truly sown. But the very bleakness of the outlook may produce some amelioration.

There is precious little illusion (CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

A ferocity that can ruin Britain

By PERCY REDFERN

THE ferocity of modern war" is a recent phrase from The Times. After what is to be seen in Germany as our own work, we cannot ascribe all the fury to the other side. So we call it "modern."

But bombs don't fall like the rain. They come from human hands, Allied hands. The Germans were ferocious in what they did; but we have done more.

Germany was ruthless in enslaving captive peoples for war. We extend by enslaving our section of an entire nation to feed our armies in peace. The demand for non-fraternisation is ferocious beyond anything modern, for it creates new Untouchables.

The ferocity is not made by time. It is ours.

Militarists like Bismarck created limited wars, and kept cool enough to end them quickly. It is a stinging satire upon our peace-loving nations that they reject peace offers as "offensives" and go on to what they call "total victory."

Are our own hands clean?

In 1914-18 the war cloud was silver-edged by the mutual respect of opposing soldiers. But the civilians of this war protest against "inter-officer codes" and cry out for the shooting or hanging of the defeated. Again, in Britain, ferocity is being naturalised.

If, like Switzerland, we were a nation both neutral in all wars and foregoing the gains of war, a special hatred of "war-makers" would be consistent and appealing. But down to the three-quarters of a million square miles taken from Germany after 1918, vast imperial British enrichments have resulted from British

war; and the fact is not unconnected with that British standard of living which before and after Hitler was half as good again as that of the industrious Germans.

The German attack on Poland which began this war followed the 1919 imposition of boundaries on Germany by force, and the 1939 British threat (given with whatever good intentions) to defend them by force. Until we have set up real means to peaceful change, and have bowed to them even at our own cost, what moral right have we as a nation to go far beyond the pacifist standpoint, and treat (defeated) war-makers as criminals?

"There is no stronger national instinct among our people" (said Viscount Halifax, in the House of Lords, as Foreign Secretary, on Mar. 20, 1939) "than the instinct which leads them, when they have a fight, to shake hands and try to make it up." If these words are true, then by their politicians and their Press our people are being betrayed. Or these leaders are themselves victims:

"Passions spin the plot:
We are betrayed by what is false within."

During two centuries Germans and Britons were allies and friends. There were contacts enough and time enough for discovering Germany. The result was that when the British Government of 1899 wanted allies in Europe it turned first to the German Empire, as likely to provide "the most natural alliance." German historians have seen the rejection as a blunder; yet even in 1914 it was the Hapsburg and Tsarist empires, and not the German, which were the prime movers for war.

We know how spontaneously, in the 1914 Christmas truce, English and German soldiers fraternised. So war had to be popularised. There were

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

Readers' views on: NON-VIOLENCE versus MODERN TYRANNY

We print below a selection from the letters we have received on John Middleton Murry's article, "Non-violence versus tyranny," which we published a fortnight ago.

IT is only a very naive person who can accept pacifism without grave heart-searchings, and no one has done more to pierce the veils of illusion and uncover the somewhat bleak reality than John Middleton Murry. All the same he should not try the faithful too severely, and I can't allow his assessment of recent history to pass without demur.

"If the Nazis had obtained their free hand in Europe, as they came so near to doing . . . would anything have prevented the totalitarianisation of Europe?" This is the question Murry asks; and then answers with the conclusion that no non-violent resistance would have been successful against German tyranny, since the ordinary decent man would not have been capable of the necessary sacrifice—while the out and out dissenters would have been immediately swept to oblivion in the nameless dungeons of the Gestapo. Possibly. And yet, surely, the point is not quite made; the picture is a little out of perspective. For there are degrees of success and failure, of resistance and co-operation; degrees too of tyranny.

Let us consider first the matter of tyranny; and here we can do no better than turn for judgment to the arch-tyrant himself. Now Hitler—if we are to believe the first-hand testimony of Dr. Rauschning—was at great pains to emphasize the representative character of even the most apparently autocratic dictatorship. "There is no such thing

as unlimited power, and I should never dream of pretending to it myself . . . Even the most extreme autocrat is compelled to correct his absolute will by existing conditions." And so on.

The proof of the pudding is in the eating. The Nazis got away with it in the Reich precisely because their rule was acceptable, generally speaking, to the large masses of the population. It was a popular government, just in the same sense as the Russian Communist Government can claim to be popular. But, even in Germany, there were certain measures, e.g., inflation, which in Hitler's opinion the people would not tolerate. In other words, a tyranny also must have its limits and its standards of "correctness" which in the long run—and perhaps the not so very long run—it dare not exceed.

Thus the totalitarianisation of a continent as civilised and as diverse as Europe is easier said than done. You can do anything with bayonets except sit on them, and so you can do anything with a Gestapo except rest on it. The pressure of life is constant and relentless. To maintain the life of a country, to work its industries, to organise its laws and finances, continually to create and control its power and its wealth, some *modus vivendi*, which will call forth the necessary minimum of harmony and co-operation, must be established.

The conditions of such an accord between the conquerors and the conquered will depend as much upon the latter as the former. The Danes may have seriously embarrassed the Germans, as Murry says, only when they increased their acts of violence; yet it was

their less spectacular methods of resistance which enabled them to refuse the rationing of food, so that they exported a smaller quantity to Germany in this war, when they were under the totalitarian thumb, than in the last war when they were a free country. Altogether this question of co-operation or non-co-operation is a vexed one, and easily open to misrepresentation. Certainly there are few such hard and fast lines, all black or all white, as militant patriots often in their ignorance suppose. I can affirm from personal knowledge that in France, for instance, many supposed collaborators, by keeping their country's economy from serious collapse while at the same time continually checking and reducing German claims and requisitions, have proved to have played an essential part in resisting an enemy at whose mercy they were. Nor were they those who made fortunes for themselves on the black market.

Courage, tenacity, and above all intelligence, the cunning of serpents, are the ordinary man's weapons against tyranny: he need not be, and seldom is, either a revolutionary or a saint. **ROBERT CLIVE.**
Corygedol, Dyffryn, Merioneth.

John Middleton Murry says that he believed the British people capable of "offering a successful united and non-violent opposition" to Hitlerite invasion, he persuaded himself that "a non-violent resistance movement would develop of such moral strength that it would overcome the invaders." And now he sadly declares himself a mistaken visionary. Is he not mistaken in thinking he ever had that particular vision?

As an assiduous reader of Peace News and of Middleton Murry's other writings I thought myself reasonably well acquainted with his views on non-violence. They are to me epitomised in his contribution to "Non-Violence for the West?" where he writes: " . . . in the event of a successful German invasion of these islands . . . so far as I can see mass non-violent resistance would be impracticable and futile." I do not wish to make play with isolated quotations. If Middleton Murry said otherwise would he tell us what, when and where to find it?

There is another and more important point. Middleton Murry not only abandons hope of successful corporate resistance to the scientific terrorism of the totalitarian police-State, he abandons the traditional consolation that the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church. I am not one of those who regret that salutary doses of realism should be featured in Peace News whatever the subsequent alarm and despondency among the wishful thinkers. But I find myself wondering if Middleton Murry still feels the term "pacifist" adequately descriptive of his position, and what hope he has for pacifism? May we now have an article from him on these themes?

ROY WALKER.

London, W.C.1.

John Middleton Murry writes: "In the first part of his letter, Roy Walker is, I think, ringing the changes. 'Non-violent resistance' is for me not the same as 'mass non-violent resistance.' Roy Walker may identify these two things; but I do not. Non-violent resistance as I conceived it in the case of a German invasion was to be the spontaneous reaction of individuals and groups, peacefully but firmly refusing to co-operate with the alien administration. 'Certainly, I did not specifically advocate even this in Peace News in 1940, for the sufficient reason that, had I done so, Peace News would have been suppressed immediately for spreading 'alarm and despondency.' But it was the background of all my thinking at the time. I can however distinctly remember advocating it in considerable detail at the PPU Summer School at Langham and trying hard to convince Maurice Rowntree in particular that spontaneous non-violent resistance was possible and even probable in England. 'The question whether I feel that pacifism is an adequate description of my present position would be easier for me to answer if there were any accepted definition of what pacifism is. Since there is not, I can only say that I grow increasingly dubious of the position that pacifism is a political method or technique.'—Ed.

I believe that pacifists need to look deeper than "the scientific terrorism" of the totalitarian State to find out why "the other ninety-nine are doomed."

If we are honest we shall find that the treatment of Germany, Italy and Japan by the democracies was largely responsible for the fertility of the soil in which it was possible for ruthless philosophies to take root and grow. We shall find too, that when those philosophies began to operate the democracies stood by while China was outraged and Abyssinia sprayed with poison gas. We shall know who supplied money and armaments to the aggressor States.

We may also ask ourselves whether the Soviet Republic might not have established

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itself with less violence if it had received sympathetic treatment from Britain and America. And we shall go further still and find out why the democracies, in particular the one of which we are citizens, acted in that way.

How could a country which held India in bondage and dropped time-bombs on hill tribes across her North-west Frontier bring moral pressure to bear on Italy and Japan? How could a country holding political and economic ideologies in conflict with those of Soviet Russia fail to be relieved by the prospect of a State antagonistic to the Communist ideology growing powerful in Europe—until it became a menace to its friends? These are the things which "doomed the other ninety-nine"—these things operating in "the much less ruthless" States.

The witness of the pacifist martyrs in time of war is great and I would not under-rate its power but as emotions of patriotism, in such times, are inflamed by propaganda and run high, the moral and spiritual approach of the pacifist can win little immediate response. I believe it is in time of so-called peace and against imperialist aspirations, immoral economic systems and unscrupulous finance and trade in democratic countries that the pacifist struggle should be waged before these evils have once again created their ungodly child, "the scientific terrorism" of the totalitarian State, within our less fortunate neighbours.

ALICE UNDERHILL

John Middleton Murry's article "Non-violence versus Tyranny" raises issues of the greatest importance for the future of pacifism and may well be made the subject of discussion in PPU groups.

When it is a case of man v. man, the pacifist may be the equal of the militarist, but when it comes to man v. science it is a different problem.

In this connection, I would recommend the study of Gerald Heard's book "Man the Master" (Faber and Faber, 10s. 6d.). His revelation of the ways in which the resistance of the accused in political trials may be broken by drugging is terrifying. What is the power of pacifism against drugs?

HAROLD F. BING.

Hollyside, Brockweir, nr. Chepstow, Mon.

Mr. Middleton Murry does not probe to the depths of true pacifism. The true pacifist will under no circumstances take part in organised slaughter, not if freedom requires it, not if justice requires it, not if civilisation requires it, not if God himself requires it. To him the universe in which such slaughter is an event is deeply condemned; a universe in which it would be a duty cannot perish too soon.

Mr. Murry asks, What if the Nazis had won? On his own showing he should also ask, What if the Soviets had won?—and they have won.

Mr. Murry is no doubt correct in saying that non-violent resistance is not natural to western nations. Ex-bullies always make the best champions of "freedom."

D. G. WILLIAMS

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The Russian reality

WE have just received a letter protesting against our giving prominence to a review of Koestler's book "The Yogi and the Commissar." The writer declares it to be "most unfair" to make an important article of the review, "as obviously our views are similar to his." To make this a cause of complaint seems to us extraordinary. To us it seems a good reason for giving prominence to the review.

It is fairly plain that our correspondent has not read Koestler's book and has no intention of doing so. The idea that Russia is a matter on which reasonable men have to seek the best information possible, and make the best judgment they can, appears not to enter our correspondent's head. Criticism of Russia is unfair, simply because it is criticism. No matter on what evidence the criticism is based, or what previous evidence of intellectual integrity the author may have given, the criticism is rejected out of hand without inspection of the evidence. It is anti-Russian: and there is an end of it.

If such an attitude were widespread within the peace movement, we should despair of it. It is obscurantist and fanatical. It may veil itself under an appearance of sweet reasonableness, as when our correspondent says:

"Russia is thought by many, rightly or wrongly, to be the only socialist country in the world, and the views of those who see in Russia at least the solid groundwork of the new order for which they are striving are just as reliable and worth having as Koestler's."

But the whole question is whether they are right or wrong who think Russia "the only socialist country in the world," and what they mean by socialism. The whole question is whether the views of those who see in Russia the solid groundwork of a new and better social order are just as reliable as Koestler's. It is the duty of reasonable men to form their own judgment on the best data they can get. Our correspondent's attitude amounts to a complete abdication of judgment.

It is a specious and insidious attitude. We are invited to give Russia "the benefit of the doubt." We are invited to believe that "many things which appear to superficial observers to be evidence of power-politics and an undemocratic attitude may prove in years to come to be the most sensible course to have taken under extremely difficult circumstances." In short, we are required to make one vast act of faith in the goodness of Russia of a kind we should never dream of

making in the case of our own country. The demand is inordinate and must be rejected.

We for our part do not claim to be capable of making an infallible judgment on Russia. We have given Koestler's evidence and arguments the most careful scrutiny in our power, and have found them convincing. It is nevertheless conceivable that a century hence Koestler's judgment and our own will be proved to have been superficial, in the sense that the evils which bulk so large in our eyes will appear to later generations to have been outweighed by the good achieved by Russia.

But we of the PPU dare not adopt such a point of view. For us the good end cannot justify the evil means. We have principles; and the chief of them is that which asserts "the supreme value of the individual person." That this is denied, in theory and in practice, by Soviet Russia, is incontrovertible.

To give Russia "the benefit of the doubt" means simply that we should condone the systematic negation of that principle. If we do that, where are we?

It may be that this principle will be finally judged chimerical because if fully applied it could not serve as the basis of a stable society without a change in the moral nature of man so great as to be impossible of attainment. But even then we should not be compelled to admit that the attitude of Soviet Russia towards the individual is justified. On the contrary, the compromise between State power and the liberties of the individual attempted by the democratic societies would be judged morally superior to the complete submission of the individual to the power of the State which Russia demands.

We can conceive no more mortal danger to the peace movement than the growth of a moral equivocation which, in the supposed interests of peace, is false to the principles on which its original pursuit of peace is based. Such an attitude is, in itself, corrupt, and will be rejected by the natural good sense of the ordinary man. Neither will it achieve its immediate end. War is not averted by pretending that things are otherwise than they are. It is only made more terrible when it comes.

Peace with Russia will not be jeopardised, and friendship with Russia may be increased, by seeking to establish the truth about her and telling it.

PAYING FOR IT

● SOMETHING for nothing is harder to come by in the realm of political change than in the strictly material sphere. "Surely we haven't got to pay for our pacifism," said one PPU member to an organiser and was surprised by the answer he got. Of course we've got to pay for our pacifism; in hard cash as well as in many other ways.

● SOME people feel so strongly about the need to bring this home to PPU members that they are in favour of imposing a minimum subscription. They argue that such a subscription would serve as a check on our sound members, make them feel that their membership entailed obligations and also, incidentally, swell our income. East Midlands Area has asked all other Area Committees to consider this question and we hope you will discuss it in your group.

● AGAINST the fixed subscription argument, there are those who say that sound members would forget to send a contribution; that it would be a loss to the movement if we thereby got out of touch with them; and that we know that they will give if we call on them, as will many others who don't share more fully in our activities. The need, therefore, is not for a minimum subscription but, at least, a yearly call on each sound member. That would achieve the same result, avoid antagonising those who are against a subscription and give the group an opportunity to ask all sound pacifists for other help with its work.

● TO give assistance to treasurers who are trying to persuade all members to subscribe regularly, a special leaflet is being prepared and will shortly be available for widespread distribution. Orders should not be sent until publication is announced, but treasurers may like to plan a series of autumn visits to try to secure more subscribers. This is a job which also provides an opportunity for asking sound signatories to share in the work of the Group and should be undertaken by all active members.

NEXT WEEK'S
Peace News will be a
SIX-PAGE ISSUE

Churchill challenged on Indian freedom

TO remind electors that their votes would help to decide the future not only of themselves but of the 400,000,000 inhabitants of India, the Indian Freedom Campaign took its message right in to the constituency of Mr. Churchill himself, arch-opponent of Indian freedom, at a public meeting in Loughton on Thursday of last week.

Reuters was represented and cabled a full account to India and the USA. In the latter country, wide publicity was expected.

The chairman, Fenner Brockway, read a cable from Suresh Vaidya, reporting an interview with Jawaharlal Nehru, one of the Indian National Congress leaders, on his release from internment, as well as messages to the IFC from Dr. Azad, President of Congress, and Yusuf Mehersally, a secretary of the Congress Socialist Party. (A message from Mr. Gandhi was reported in last week's Peace News.)

"It is clear," said Mr. Brockway, "that Nehru has come out of prison with one thing upon his mind more than any other—the fact that during the war two million people in India have died from starvation, that hundreds are still dying, that there is a poverty there which means that millions never have enough physical sustenance."

Wavell Plan

"Though the Indian National Congress may regard the Wavell proposals as temporarily acceptable, they will only be acceptable as a platform from which the case for full independence can be put."

Iqbal Singh, an Indian journalist, said the Indian national movement understood freedom as an international idea and could not be associated with the imperialist policies of the Allies in the Far East.

The question of Indian freedom was primarily a moral, and not a political one, declared F. A. Ridley. We were told we had

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been fighting a war for freedom, and should ask ourselves whether this applied to the war in the Far East. If Hitler's military conquests in Europe gave him no moral right of domination, neither had Britain any right to rule India.

S. K. Pramanik, secretary of the Bengal TUC and one of the representatives of the Indian labour movement at the recent World Trade Union Congress, declared: "It is silly to think that a slave world can live, not side by side, but within a free world, without coming to a deadly clash sooner or later."

"Gestapo" in India

Margaret Pope, a journalist who had returned from India this year, pointed out that leading Indians had spoken out against Japanese aggression in China, not only now but in 1931.

"I myself have lived under the 'Gestapo,'" she continued. "I was trailed everywhere I went in India. I had my correspondence tampered with, my journalistic 'copy' was held up at telegraph offices for special consideration, and my rooms were searched. These things go on in India."

"We come to you, the people of Britain," said the final speaker, Stanley de Zoysa, a lawyer from Ceylon. "For it is you alone who can decide whether the Indian and colonial problems can be solved with good will on both sides. There is no bitterness in the hearts of the Indians against the people of Britain, for we know that did you but know the facts you would not for a moment tolerate the things that are done in your name."

WORDS OF PEACE

No. 132

The greatest curse which can be entailed upon mankind is a state of war. All the atrocious crimes committed in years of peace—all that is spent in peace by the secret corruptions, or by the thoughtless extravagance of nations—are mere trifles compared with the gigantic evils which stalk over the world in a state of war. God is forgotten in war—every principle of Christian charity trampled upon—human labour destroyed—human industry extinguished—you see the son, and the husband, and the father, dying miserably in distant lands—you see the waste of human affections—you see the breaking of human hearts—you hear the shrieks of widows and children after the battle—and you walk over the mangled bodies of the wounded calling for death.

—SYDNEY SMITH (1771-1845)

THE CATHOLIC PROTEST

A Catholic Approach to the Problem of War, A Symposium edited by Hubert Grant Scarfe, price 1s., published by "Pax," Green End, Radnage, High Wycombe, Bucks.

This little book is a welcome addition to the literature of the peace movement, setting out the main lines of the Catholic protest against war and all that leads to it. The essays here collected include two short ones by Eric Gill which it is good to have preserved; but only one of them is dated, and in the case of several contributions which are reprinted from other sources the lack of a date is an unfortunate omission.

The main thesis, of course, is that while in the past the Catholic criteria of a just war may have been satisfied, it is impossible to satisfy them in the case of modern war. In particular, "the cause of war must be proportionate to the evils incident to the war." This case is argued convincingly although it might have been better to give more prominence to Dachau and Belsen and the gas chambers of the Nazi regime.

It was because they saw no other way of dealing with the evils symbolised and expressed in these that so many pacifists of earlier wars found themselves committed to support of this one. There are many expacifists who still maintain that acquiescence in these evils, which seemed to them the only alternative to war, was worse than acquiescence in war, and that on balance the "liberation" which war has brought, even at such fearful cost, has been worth while. This is a case which requires answering.

The articles "Why not Industrialism?" "England and the Countryman," and "A Catholic Considers Community" are useful correctives to much sloppy thinking on these subjects, but they are too full of a nostalgic longing for a past that is gone for ever and some features of which are unwelcome, unrecognised and unsung. The "return of the squire and the parson to a functional responsibility" is not a proposal which would rouse widespread enthusiasm. There can be no going back, but there are alternative roads forward, and it would be helpful to have suggestions as to which to choose.

All of this means that this little book sets us thinking, represents an important point of view, and deserves to be read.

Alex Wood.

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"A CONFESSION of Faith in War Time" by Stephen Hobhouse has just been published by the Friends Peace Committee, Friends House, Euston Rd., N.W.1. Price 6d., by post 7d.

MEETINGS, &c.

FIRST STEPS Towards Peace. Alex. Wood, D.Sc. (speaker). John P. Fletcher (chairman) on Mon. July 16, at 7.45 p.m. at North Finchley Baptist Church Hall, Dale Grove, Tally Ho!, N. 12.

LONDON FORUM. Director Frederick Lohr. Public lecture by M. Channing-Pearce: "The Yogi and the Commissar: Action and Contemplation." Mon., July 16, at 7.30. Chanticleer Theatre, Clareville St., South Kensington.

NEW BARNET: Friends' Meeting House, Leicester Rd., July 12, 8 p.m. Edward Attiyah (of the Arab League) on "Arab Aspirations in the World Today." Chair: Margaret Pope. Barnet Region P.P.U.

SENIOR PUPILS from progressive schools are meeting for a holiday conference at Aylburton Youth Hostel from Sept. 4 to 14. Mrs. Toni Sussmann will be there to lead discussions on "The psychology of relationships." Inquiries to Norah Birmingham, The Warren, Aylburton, Lydney, Glos.

HUDDERSFIELD TRAINING WEEKEND for speakers, under Harry Hilditch. Tuition, practice in market. July 20, 21, 22. Write Will Green, PPU, 19, John William St. Fee 2/6d.

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CAPABLE SECRETARY (male or female) required for religious book publisher's office. Shorthand essential. Applications in writing, stating salary required, to Box 4541. Edgar G. Dunstan and Co., Drayton House, Gordon St., London, W.C.1. COOK WANTED for school house of 50 boys, Wycliffe College, Stonehouse, Glos.; also assistant matron. Apply Mrs. Bevan, Wycliffe College, until August at Lampeter, Cards.

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'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

about the dangers of the situation. Foreign policy played no part at all in the issues of the General Election: not because any of the parties think it can be ignored, but because none of them has anything hopeful to say about it. No one party was out-bidding the others in the offer of revenge or reparations. None of the parties can credibly promise either security or peace.

The Big Two

EVERYBODY knows that world-peace now depends on the Big Three. If they do not go to war, nobody else will. But not everybody, here in Britain, has yet realised that the Big Three is now the Big Two, with Britain for the odd man out. In September, 1939, Britain for the last time declared war on its own initiative.

For as Norman Thomas says in The Call (May 28), a third world war is conceivable henceforward only if USA and Russia are on opposite sides, simply because their power is now so much greater than that of other nations that a world war is not possible without their opposition. The scene of their political conflict is undoubtedly Asia, and specifically China. The political possibilities of China are so vast and so unknown that speculation is overwhelmed by the sense that we are passing into an altogether new historical epoch.

Japanese offer

IT would be inordinate in such circumstances to expect that American statesmen should have a clear conception of the wise policy to follow. But it is depressing to think that they may have rejected out of hand an offer of peace by Japan which is said to have contained the following:

- (1) Japan to surrender her whole fleet and air force.
- (2) Japan to withdraw her troops from all territories outside Japan proper.
- (3) Japan proper not be militarily occupied.

Such an offer is said to have been made by the Suzuki cabinet ("P.M." May 9) or by direct emissaries speaking in the Mikado's name (Worldover Press, May 30). To prolong the torture and exhaustion of China for the sake of an unprofitable and embarrassing military occupation of Japan is folly. But it would be unduly optimistic to assume that USA has not committed it.

Building up China

I suggested last week that there had been a marked change in the policy of USA towards China, and by implication in its attitude to Russia, roughly since the beginning of the 'Frisco conference. Worldover Press (June 6) says it came with the death of Roosevelt.

"President Roosevelt's passing signifies a change not because, as charged by his enemies, he was pro-Communist, but because he believed that Russian co-operation could be secured by appeasement, without bargaining, while present-day Washington, still believing in co-operation with Russia, finds appeasement one-sided and is inclined to ask specific returns."

But if, as I believe, USA has decided to build up China as a great, independent and friendly nation, it should not do it half-heartedly. It should be prepared to make Chiang Kai-shek the real arbiter of the terms of peace with Japan. Has it the imagination and the foresight to do that?

Indian fairy tale?

ONE hesitates to accept Indian news from the Daily Express (June 28). But the news is so good that one wants the pleasure of believing it—even for a day or two. Its message says that "it is generally agreed that Lord Wavell's proposals for a new Executive Council will now succeed."

Nehru is expected to be the first Indian Foreign Minister; Rajagopalachari, Finance Minister; and Jinnah perhaps the Premier. It sounds like a fairy tale; but it may nevertheless be true. Mr. Gandhi's statement (Sunday Times, July 1) that Lord Wavell is acting as Conference leader and not as the agent of Whitehall encourages me to hope it is.

But the major difficulty has been Jinnah's exorbitant claim that all the Moslem seats on the Council must be reserved to the Moslem League.

A problem which the General Election brought into prominence

The ethics of propaganda

by J. Allen Skinner

NOW that we have reached the end of the orgy of slanging and sloganising that forms such a big part of the conduct of an election and which so debases thought on political issues a consideration of what kind of results we should aim at in our propaganda may have its uses.

I wonder how many Peace News readers have been embarrassed by the dilemma I have experienced in canvassing on more than one occasion, when I have found that I have been able to record a promise of a vote in favour of my candidate, but that it was apparent that the vote would be given for some irrelevant reason, or even for some reason that was quite incompatible with the declared policy of the candidate. Should one accept the promise of the vote and go on one's way, or should one take the trouble involved in disabusing the voter and clarifying the political issues in question?

The problems raised by the post-debauch feeling that follows an election have their counterparts in our ordinary propaganda.

Whether we are expressing our opposition to war or capitalism, or whether we feel that war and capitalism are two manifestations of the same evil our opposition should rest on a basis of intellectual conviction and we damage the integrity of our own conception when we so frame our propaganda as to try to get support for some subordinate consequence of our basic attitude through the marshalling of mere prejudices and a variety of incongruous interests in our support.

THERE are two opposing conceptions of propaganda that can

Ferocity that can ruin Britain

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

no concentration-camps then, no anti-Semitism, no Hitler. War-propaganda none the less created the devilish "Huns." The developed hate and horror went into a treaty that stood for punishment and shackles. Some of us at that time, 1919, prophesied trouble; but the extent and volume of the wages of hate none of us foresaw.

As surely as throughout this war bad has generated worse, so hostile relations have poisoned, debased and corrupted all who have opened their minds and hearts to such bitter enmity. The material damage of the war is admitted. Markets have gone; debts are prodigious; this densely-peopled country is to have a struggle to import, export and live. But of the moral damage, which is deeper, we are little aware.

For overcoming the tremendous post-war problems already in sight, we as a people will need truth and reasonableness, the liveliest sense of justice, equity and fair play, profound qualities of mutual helpfulness and human respect, and, indeed, every virtue of a civilised country. But if we are to be a nation of gaolers or, worse, of lynchers, listening to no defence of doomed "war criminals," and keeping down the rest as moral inferiors justly to be enslaved, how in our inflamed minds is any necessary good will to live and grow? And how is any informed reasonableness to survive while a flood of one-way facts, arguments and indictments sweeps through what should be our organs of enlightenment?

If there is reality in our national hatred of war, we shall wean ourselves from war's ferocity. Love of enemies may be too high for what we are; but consideration and fair hearing we can cultivate. Such decency will not be pro-enemy. The value will be for Britain and for our own souls. Obviously, six years of the new popularisation of war have all but paralysed that "national instinct" of March, 1939. Ferocity already has half-ruined Britain. All the more urgent is the need for the health and strength of gentleness.

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be adopted by those who believe that the fulfilment of their ideas would make for a better re-ordering of society.

On the one hand they can take care that they seek support only through the spread of a complete understanding of the essential differences between their own social views and those that are at present realised in the social structure, always acting on the realisation that their view of a radically different social order must be treated in its essentials as a complete whole.

On the other hand they can keep a zealous lookout for grievances, dissatisfactions, even for the grievance-mongering of those who stupidly complain about the smaller necessary consequences of an accepted policy, and for those whose personal interests can be furthered as an incidental consequence of a policy about whose rational justification they feel no need to concern themselves; and they can seek to draw support from all these different elements for subordinate aspects of a policy which would be rejected as a whole by those whose support is thus being utilised.

THE important difference between these two conceptions is that

the first assumes that there should be a standard of intellectual probity that the second rejects; the great social difference between them is that the first is based on a conscientious desire to make democracy a real thing by the extension of the power of making understanding decisions to as large a number of people as possible, while the second seeks, by the disclosing of different subordinate facts of its policy in different circumstances and playing down the main conception, to realise an artificially inflated degree of influence through the grouping together of different interests, partial views, and prejudices.

The first conception is essentially creative; the second is essentially destructive, because the parts of a policy which may be quite sound when the policy is taken as an integral whole may be merely an additional cause of harmfulness when applied to a system of political thought to which they do not belong.

The outstanding example of this democracy-destroying attitude to propaganda method is, of course, to be found in the German National Socialist Party on its road to power; the Communist Party is the next most complete example; but the same attitude of mind is frequently to be found in the Socialist movement; and Pacifists, with even less justification, are far from free from it.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Discharge plan for C.O.s in U.S.A.

Washington officials estimated on May 27 that 900 American conscientious objectors would get discharges over a period of a year, beginning in August, under their own point system.

They would get point credits toward release as follows: one for each month or part of month of service, 12 for each child born prior to midnight of May 12, 1945, and three for a wife if married before May 12. There will be point deductions for misconduct, such as refusal to work.

Unlike the system in the Army demobilization plan, there is no arbitrary number of points established for objectors' release. Discharges will come in order of highest point totals.

Peace News pamphlet

The Peace News pamphlet on India, publication of which was postponed owing to current developments, will be distributed with next week's PN. It is entitled "The Indian Problem" and the author is A. K. Jameson.

What about Germany?

The National Peace Council (144 Southampton Row, London, W.C.1.) announces the publication of a new series of leaflets designed to encourage rational and constructive judgments on the vital issues raised by the Allied occupation of Germany and the general problem of the future of Germany. The first three leaflets in the series—for which the Council invites the widest possible circulation—are as follows: (1) "How shall Germany pay?—Reparations and Reconstruction" (3s. per 100, 5d. per dozen copies, post free); (2) "Education in Occupied Germany" (5s. per 100, 8d. per dozen copies, post free); "Belsen—Dachau—Buchenwald!" (3s. per 100, 5d. per dozen copies, post free).

The Council also announces the publication of a folder containing the text, results of, and other information about the National Petition for a Constructive Peace.

From the P.P.U. areas

Prof. Tom Finnegan gave a recent PPU conference in Northern Ireland his impressions of the PPU annual general meeting, which he attended in London. He thought that, in recent years, the movement had gathered competence and confidence.

He was struck by London's moderate behaviour on VE-Day, as compared with the exuberance of 1918.

The Rev. G. R. Lloyd, the other main speaker at the Northern Ireland conference, discussed "The psychological approach to the problem of war." He said that when we armed in peace-time our ruling thought was "We must not be bossed by foreigners." But in spending money on arms instead of using our energies to abolish slums and so on, we allowed the foreigner—or our fear of the foreigner—to dictate to us.

We must emerge from narrow conceptions of national sovereignty, and replace the attractions of war by the joys of working for a larger purpose.

Moelwyn Hughes and Gwylim Pritchard were re-elected joint secretaries of N. Wales PPU at the AGM held recently at Bangor.

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Home: quarterly, 3s. 3d.; yearly, 12s. 6d. Abroad: quarterly, 2s. 9d.; yearly, 10s. 6d.

The meeting agreed that the important experience of pacifists in the national life of Wales ought to be publicized more and would contribute to increased understanding between English and Welsh pacifists.

Southend PPU is planning to organize a meeting at which non-pacifists, as well as a pacifist speaker, will put their views on the post-war world. They believe that this widening of the field of discussion will be good for pacifists as well as for the non-pacifists who will attend!

Conscription condemned

Compulsory military training after the war was denounced at the annual congress of the General and Municipal Workers' Union at Hastings on June 12. Mr. Herbert Bullock, a National Industrial Officer of the union, moving a resolution on collective security, said that, given such security, the necessity for conscript armies would disappear.

His statements that we did not spend ten years out of the last 30 to get rid of militarism only to enthrone it here, and that we must create a League with an effective authority higher than the individual State, were applauded by the delegates, who unanimously adopted his resolution.

De Valera's broadcast

The full text of Mr. de Valera's broadcast of May 16, which included his reply to Mr. Churchill's broadcast, has been reprinted by The Irish Press, Dublin, as a 1d. pamphlet. Supplies can be obtained through newsgagents, who can get them from the major English wholesalers.

P.P.U. DEMONSTRATION
Trafalgar Square

Saturday, July 28, 2.30 p.m.
The following speakers have agreed to take part:

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STUART MORRIS
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